[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

and fanatics." Sir, I do not understand the terms in such connection. There can be no fanatics in the cause of genuine Liberty. Funaticism is excessive zeal. There may be, and have been, fanatics in false religion; in the bloody religion of the heathen. There are fanatics in superstition. But there can be no fanatics, however warm their zeal, in true religion, even although you sell your goods, and bestow your money on the poor, and go and follow your Master. There may be, and very hour shows around me, fanatics in the cause of false liberty-that infamous liberty which justifies human bondage; that liberty whose corner-stone is slavery." But there can be no fanati-cism, however high the enthusiasm, in the cause of rational, universal Liberty—the liberty of the Declaration of Independence.

This is the same censure which the Egyptian

tyrant cast upon those old abolitionists, Moses and Aaron, when they "agitated" for freedom, and, in obedience to the command of God, bade

him let the people go.

But we are told by these pretended advocates of Liberty in both branches of Congress, that those who preach Freedom here and elsewhere are the slave's worst enemies; that it makes the slaveholder increase their burdens, and tighten their chains; that more cruel laws are enacted since this agitation began in 1835. Sir, I am not satisfied that this is the fact. I will send to the Clerk, and ask him to read a law of Virginia, began. It is to be found in the 6th volume of Houing's Satutes at Large of Virginia, published in 1819, "pursuant to an act of the General Assembly of Virginia, passed on the 5th day of February, 1808."

Sec. XXIV. " And that when any slave shall be notoriously guilty of going abroad in the night, or running away and laying out, and cannot be reclaimed from such disorderly courses by common methods of punishment, it shall be lowful for the County Court, upon complaint and proof thereof to them made by the owner of such slave, to order and direct such punishment by disamment, or any other way, not touching life, as the Court shall think fit. And if such slave shall die by means of such dismembers, no forfeiture or punishment shall be thereby incurred."

I have had that law read, to see if any gentle-

man can turn me to any more cruel laws passed since the "agitation." I did not read it myself, though found on the pages of Old Virginia's law books, lest it should make the modest gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Millson] and the gentle-man from North Carolina [Mr. Stanly] and his gray-headed negro, blush!

[Mr. Bayly of Virginia. That law is repealed, or not now in force.]

Mr. Stevens. Then I am glad that the agita-

tion has produced some amelioration of your laws, although I still find it on your statute-book.* But suppose it were true that the masters had here the true that the masters had become more sowers. In it past been so with trants in every age? The nearer the oppressed is to freedom, and the more hopeful his struggles, the tighter the master rivets his chains. Moses and A ron urged the emancipation of the enslaved Jews. Their master hardened his heart Those functical abolitionists, guided by Heaven, agitated anew. Pharaoh increased the burden of the slaves. He required the same quantity of brick from them without straw, as when the straw had been found them. They were seen dispersed and wandering to gather stubble, to make out their task. They failed, and were beaten with stripes. Moses was their worst encmy, according to these philanthropic gentlemen. Did the Lord think so, and command him to desist, lest he should injure them? No; he directed him to agitate again, and demand the abolition of slavery from the King himself. That great slaveholder still hardened his heart, and refused The Lord visited him with successive plaguesice, frogs, locusts, thick darkness-until, as the agitation grew higher, and the chains were tighter drawn, he smote the first-born of every house in Egypt; nor did the slaveholder relax the grasp on his victims, until there was wailing throughout the whole land, over one dead in every fam ily, from the King that sat on the throne to the captive in the dungeon. So I fear it will be in this land of wicked slavery. You have already among you what is equivalent to the lice and the locusts, that wither up every green thing where

go forth he will, he may pass you by. Aside from the principle of Eternal Right, I will never consent to the admission of another slave State into the Union, (unless bound to do so by some constitutional compact, and I know of representation. By the Constitution, not only the States now in the Union, but all that may here-after be admitted, are entitled to have their slaves equal to three white freemen. This is unjust to the free States, unless you allow them a representation in the compound ratio of persons and property. There are twenty-five gentlemen on this floor who are virtually the representatives of slaves alone, having not one free constituent. This is an outrage on every representative principle, which supposes that representatives have constituents, whose will they are bound to obey,

the foot of slavery treads. Beware of the final

plague. And you, in the midst of slavery, who

door-posts are sprinkled with the blood of sacri-

fice, that when the destroying angel goes forth, as

and whose interest they protect.

The slave representation should not be increased, for it already possesses a power danger-ons to the Constitution. In the Senate, slavery who are not obedient to the institution. That are Northern men held in duress! This power demands from Congress

word "compromise," when applied to human rights, and constitutional rights, I abhor. We are not asked, but commanded, to compromise away the Constitution. It is well known that, when Congress assembled here, a large majority of its members, as well as a large majority of the people, were in favor of prohibiting slavery in all the Territories, and admitting nonew slave States into the Union. It is a vital principle of the Conthe majority to yield to a turbulent minority. The violence of passion, the recklessness of am-

nstitution cannot thus surrender. I shall not now particularly refer to the fea tures of the most extraordinary conspiracy against liberty in the Senate, called the Compromise bill. If it should survive its puerperal fever, we shall have another opportunity of knocking the monster in the head. I pass over what is familiarly known as the "ten million bribe," which was evidently inserted for no other purpose than to create public opinion on 'change, and carry the

giving her \$200,000,000 out of the public Treas ury, the proceeds of the public lands. If this sum were to be given for the purpose of purchas-ing the freedom of her slaves, large as it is, it should have my hearty support. It is Libing at least fifty millions in the would pay for them all at a fair market price. But it is designed for no purpose of emancipation. The cool-headed, cool-hearted, philosophic author had no such "transcendental" object. It is to be specifically appropriated to exile her free people of color, and transport them from the land of their birth to the land of the stranger! Sir, this is a propo-

sition not "fit to be made."
[Mr. Averett of Virginia here asked, Did not ew England sell slaves?]
Mr. Stevess. Yes, she sold, she imported

repented. Go ye and do likewise. It is my purpose nowhere in these remarks to make personal reproaches; I entertain no ill-will towards any human being, nor any brute, that I know of, not even the skunk across the way to which I referred. Least of all would I reproach the South. I honor her courage and fidelity. Even in a bad, a wicked cause, she shows a united front. All her sons are faithful to the cause of human bondage, because it is their cause. But the North—the poor, timid, mercenary, deivelling cause, although it is the cause of human liberty. ambition—an ambition which prefers self to country, personal aggrandizement to the high cause of human liberty. She is offered up a sac-rifice to propitiate Southern tyranny—to concili-

restoring fugitive slaves, and that more stringent laws must be passed to secure that object. A dis-tinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr. Clay] says it is the duty, not only of officers in the free States, but of all the people who happen to be present, to give active aid to the slave-owner to run down, arrest, and restors the man, who is fleshed down, arrest, and restore the man who is fleeing

from slavery. An equally distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Webster] unites with him in denouncing the aggressions of the North in this particular; and they both declare their determination to vote for the bill, with its amendments, now on file, and which has become a part of the "Compromise."
It may be well to look a little at the law as it

now stands on the subject, and then at the one which has enlisted such powerful support. By the Constitution alone, without any legislation, the slaveholder may go into a free State, take with him such force as he pleases, and take his slave and carry him back. If the fact of his sla-very is disputed either by the alleged slave or very is disputed either by the alleged slave or any one for him, the claimant may issue his writ de homine repligiando, and unless the defendant gives ample bail for his forthcoming on the final issue, and for the payment of all costs and dam-ages, (which include the value of his services in the mean time.) the plaintiff may take him into his possession, and retain him until final trial by a court and jury. Is not this sufficient? It is all the right which he would have if he claims property in a horse, or other property which he might allege had strayed over the line. Why should he have any greater right when he claims property in man? Is a man of so much less value than a horse, that he should be deprived of the ordinary protection of the law? Sir, in my sudgment, the remedy-ought to be left where the constitution places it, without any legislation; bat the odious law of 1793 ought to be repealed.

By that law, the slaveholder may now vary which his slave and drag him back, but he may command the aid of all the officers of the United States Court; take his alleged slave before the judge, and after summary examination, without trial by jury, may obtain a certificate of property; which, for the purpose of removal, is conclusive of his slavery, takes away the writ of habeas corpus, and the right of trial by jury, and sends the victim to hopeless bondage. If an inhabitant of a free State sees a wretched fugitive, who he learns is fleeing from bondage, and gives him a meal of victuals to keep him from starving, and allows him to sleep in his out-house, although his master is not in pursuit of him, he is liable to the penalty of five hundred dollars. A judge in Penn-sylvania lately held that a worthy citizen of Indiana county incurred such penalty by giving a cup of water and a crust of bread to a famishing man whom he knew to be fleeing from bondage. man whom he knew to be fleeing from bondage. A slave family escaped from Maryland; went into Cumberland county, Pa, and obtained the reluctant consent of a worthy farmer to sleep in his hay-loft. Their owner did not pursue them for a week afterwards. It was held by a State court that the farmer was liable for the farmer. that the farmer was liable for the full value of the slaves, beside the \$500 penalty, and a jury re-turned a verdict for \$2,000 and costs. Such are some of the provisions of the law of 1793 now in force, which these great expounders of constitu-tional freedom hold to be too mild! And more stringent twee are to be passed to number North-

ern men who have a heart! The law which they propose to support doubles all these penalties. But that is not its most obnoxious feature. It expressly recognises slavery in

the Territories.
In section 1 it provides, "That when a person held to service or labor in any State or Territory shall escape into any other of said States or Terri-

tories," &c. We have no Territories except New Mexico and California, both of which are free by their present laws. This bill recognises slaves capable of fleeing from "Territories," and extends the fugitive laws to them. This settles the Wilmot Proviso most effectually, and seems to render it necessary somewhat to strengthen and "reenact

It provides that the claimant may arrest such alleged fugitive, "and take him or her before any judge of the Circuit or District Court of the United States, or before any marshal, commissioner, or clerk of such court, or any postmaster of the United States, or collector of the customs residing or being within such State where such seizure or arrest shall be made; and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge, commissioner, clerk, marshal, postmaster, or collector, as the case may be, either by oral testimony or offidavit taken may be either by drait testimony or appear taken before and certified by any person authorized to admin-ister an auth, that the person so seized owes service or labor, &c., it shall be the duty of such judge, marshal, postmaster, &c., to give a certificate to such claimant, his or her agent or attorney, which are willing to do justice to the people, take care that your works testify to the purity of your intentions, even at some cost. Take care that your shall be sufficient warrant for removing such fugitive to the State or Territory from which he or she may have fled."

An amendment proposed by the Committee of out notice to the alleged fugitive, proving his slavery and absconding; and, on producing this before lectors, and township postmasters, are transformed into high justiciaries, whose signature to a prepar-ed certificate is to be conclusive of the liberty of human beings! They are the sole judges of the law and the evidence; and from their judgment there is no appeal. The habeas corpus is annulled; the trial by jury denied. The evidence, which they are bound to hold conclusive, may be made up ex parte, by affidavit or record, a thousand miles from the party whose safety is involved in it. If, on his arrest, he should be able to prove that he was born free, and had resided in a free State all his life, he is not permitted to do it. These ex parte records close his mouth, and stop up judicial cars. These learned judges—these tide waiters and country postmasters, who make power is exercised. The real leader of that body, a Senator from Mississippi, not long since, frankly declared in debate, that he would vote for no nominee who was tinctured with anti-slavery doctrines, or who had active friends that were. This power was notoriously and successfully brought to bear, several years since, against a distinguished and worthy gentleman, who was nominated to an office far below his merits, because he had an office far below his merits he affidavit of a distant soul-dealer is evidence of slavery, which cannot be gainsaid. The slavery had he affidavit of a distant soul-dealer is evidence of slavery, whi overseer, with a power of attorney; the affidavit of a professional slave-trader; an itinerant post-master from Virginia signing judgment in a bar-room; the defendant, a hand-cuffed negro, without counsel, witnesses, or judge. Verily, a second

Daniel has come to judgment.

A decree thus obtained, without a jury to pass on the facts, is to conclude the rights of man, and

The distinguished Senator from Kentucky [Mr CLAY] wishes further to make it the duty of all by-standers to aid in the capture of fugitives; to join the chase and run down the prey. This is asking more than my constituents will ever grant. They will strictly abide by the Constitution. The slaveholder may pursue his slave among them with his own foreign myrmidons, unmolested the state of the constitution. ed, except by their frowning scorn. But no law that tyranny can pass will ever induce them to join the hue and cry after the trembling wretch who has escaped from unjust bondage. Their fair land, made by nature and their own honest toil as fertile and as lovely as the vale of Tampe, shall never become the hunting ground on which the bloodhounds of Siavery shall course their prey, and command them to join the hunt.

Sir, this tribunal would be more odious than the Star Chamber-these officers more hateful than

the Familiars of the Inquisition. England stand it? Can Massachusetts stand it? If she can, she has but one step further to take in degradation, and that is to deliver her own sons in chains to Southern masters! What would the bold Barons of Runnymede have said to such de-fenders of Liberty? What would the advocates of English freedom, at any the said to those who would strike down the writ of habea corpus and the right of trial by jury, these vital principles of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights?

marks. I know how little effect they will have, coming from so obscure a quarter, and being opposed by the mighty influences that create public opinion. I was struck with the sound sense of the remark made to-day by the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Gentry.] He said that the "Compromise" bill was winning favor with the People, most of whom had never read it, merely because it is advocated by great names in whom they are accustomed to confide.

better in republican, representative Governments, where the People are to judge and decide on evewhere the People are to judge and decide on every measure, if there were no great, overshadowing names, to give factitious force to their views, and lead the public mind captive. If the People were to put faith in no man's argument, they would examine every question for themselves, and decide according to their intrinsic merit. The errors of the Small do but little harm; those of the Great are fatal. Had Lucifer been but a common angel, instead of the Chief of the morning stars, he had not taken with him to perdition the third of the heavenly hosts, and spread disunion and discord in celestial, and sin and misery in earthly places.

sir, so long as man is vain and fallible; so long as great men have like passions with others, and, as in republics, are surrounded with stronger temptations, it were better for themselves if their fame acquired no inordinate height, until the grave had precluded error. The errors of obscure men die with them, and cast no shame on their posterity. How different with the Great!

How much better had it been for Lord Bacon, that greatest of human intellects, had be payer. that greatest of human intellects, had he never, during his life, acquired glory, and risen to high honors in the State, than to be degraded from them

of the renowned men of this nation should betray her cause, it were better that they had been unknown to fame. It need not be hoped that the brightness of their past glory will dazzle the eyes of posterity, or illumine the pages of impartial history. A few of its rays may still linger on a fading sky; but they will soon be whelmed in the blackness of darkness. For unless progressive civilization, and the increasing love of freedom throughout the Christian and civilized world, are falleging the Sux of Language of interest liberty. fallacious, the Sun of LIBERTY, of universal liberty, is already above the horizon, and fast coursing to his meridian splendor, when no advocate of sla-very, no apologist of slavery, can look upon his face and live.

Note.—Since this speech was delivered, I have read a very able work by Rev. Moses Stuart, lately theological professor at Andover. He speaks of the "blessings and comfarts" of slavery. He says, "Christ doubtless felt that slavery might be made a very tolerable condition—nay, even a blessing to such as were shiftless and helpless."—Page 46.
This is flattering to the poor! His work is able, and contains a very glowing eulogy on the Hon.
Daniel Webster, and rather a faint one on the Bible. His object seems to be to prove from Scripture the lawful and just; and the uniawing Scripture the lawful and just; and the unlawful and unjust character of slavery. He proves that as soon as Moses and his people had got out of bondage, they turned kidnappers. The first hundred pages of the book prove, by numerous Scriptural texts, that slavery being instituted by God in old times, and sanctioned by Paul and the Apostles, is not sinful—not malum in se; and he lectures the North, and exhorts them to forbearance towards their Southern brethren, many of whom he knows to be true Christians as he once whom he knows to be true Christians, as he once

visited Charleston, and was treated with great visited Charleston, and was treated with great kindness, respect, and hospitality.

After having fully proved the divine nature of slavery, and the unchristian character of those who revile Mr. Webster and the South, and send him anonymous letters, he takes a look at the other side, and addresses himself to slave-holders; and with great clearness and ability, (house) in a charter seem the (though in a short space,) demonstrates from the New Testament that slavery is a most sinful and wicked institution, malum in se, and opposed to the fundamental law of God! He clearly proves, not only from Scripture, but alimate, that "all men are of one blood," and equal. Page 103, he says of slavery, "It is a glaring contradiction of the first and fundamental principle, not only of the Bible, which declares that all men are of one blood, but of our Declaration of Independence, which avers that all men are born with an inherent and inclinable right to life, liberty, and property.

Same page—"And if all this be true, then for one part of mankind to enslave another, stands on the single ground of might prevaiting over right-neither the law of love, nor doing as we would be done by, permits any man to act on such ground and be guiltless before God." (Malum in se.) He speaks of the immoral tendency of slavery;

leclares it to be a virtual state of concubinage which is encouraged for the sake of increasing slave property. He proceeds to illustrate this from what he saw in the South, the mixed colors So. Says it pervades married as well as single life; and, turning sharp upon his Southern friends, exclaims—"Retribution begins here in this life; but, O! what will it be in the life to Whoremongers and adulterers, God will come? udge."—Heb. xiii. 4.

Fie! friend Stuart! "SPEAK EVIL OF NO MAN. as you say to Northern Abolitionists. How impartial! Verily, this Moses is a fair man.

SPEECH

HON, JOHN W. HOWE, OF PENNSYLVANIA. THE CALIFORNIA QUESTION.

House of Representatives, Night Session, June 4, 1850.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Since we came together, six months ago, the views of members upon this floor seem to have undergone material and most re-markable changes. It would not be easy to assign all the causes for the uncertain state of opinion here upon these great questions which are agitating the country. The People, however, do not appear to change; they remain as steady and true as the needle to the pole. What they thought a year ago, and two and three years ago, upon this subject of setting metes and bounds to the alarming spread of the institution of slavery, they think to-day; and nothing which can be said here, or in the other wing of the Capitol, however eloquently urged or strongly enforced by party discipline, is likely to change that opinion, or put out the lights which the experience of or put out the lights which the experience of the past few years has furnished them upon this subject. Whatever others may choose to do, they are however alone responsible for. I desire, for myself, that my constituents should understand that my opinions have undergone no change; and I shall act in conformity to these opinions whenever I have an opportunity to vote. The question stands upon the broad, well-defined, and well-nedwick shiefform of 1818, the White and Free understood platform of 1848—the Whig and Free Soil platform. The free soil feature in this plat-Form is what it clung to with unyielding tenacity. We shall regard it as the apple of our cye—as a principle never to be surrendered, never to be "compromised," never to be given up upon any miserable pretext, that God has so constructed those territories with particular reference to do-ing away with the necessity of its application: that it would not only be totally needless and ridiculous, but next to blasphemous, to insist upon it. God has never enacted the Wilmot Proviso for these Territories; and if not enacted by man, the leprous curse of slavery will spread over them, as it has over all other Territories acquired by this Government, excepting those to which man has taken the precaution to apply the Ordinance of 1787. This is a fact—a great and important fact—at which we should look long and excepting when taking into consideration and carefully, when taking into consideration any proposition to recede from the position taken by the North. All the Territories which the United States have acquired since the foundation of the Government to which the Ordinance of 1787 was Government to which the Ordinance of 1787 was not applied, have come into the Union as slave States. It is pretended that a portion of what was included in the Louisiana purchase obtained the benefit of the Missouri Compromise, but it would be difficult to tell how, since Missouri herself absorbed an area of greater extent than New England, and taking nearly as far north as the original boundaries of that Territory.

Sir, what was the platform of 1848? Did we not subscribe most emphatically to the doctrine

not subscribe most emphatically to the doctrine that slavery should go no further? Did we not that slavery should go no further? Did we not take the ground that Texas had been annexed by a scheme of territorial aggrandizement which has no parallel in modern, if it has in ancient history; and that we had been dragged into a war with Mexico for purposes inconsistent with the honor and dignity of the nation; and that, under such circumstances, we should insist upon applying the Ordinance of 1787 to such portion of the territory acquired as had not been swallowed up in tory acquired as had not been swallowed up in the capacious maw of Texas? Did we not con-tend that the North had a right (leaving the moral question out of the issue) to a fair propor-tion of these vast territories lying between Louisi-ana and the Pacific, which had been "acquired at the expense of the common blood and treasure of the Nation," and that they should be forever consecrated to Freedom? Every man, woman, and child from Maine to Jowa knows (1 at we did Everybody knows that we promised to stand by that Ordinance. Whigs and Democrats pledged themselves to stand by it; and we are not now to be frightened by the cry of disunion! which has gentlemen now resorting to other means, calling the yeas and nays on frivolous motions, and with-holding the appropriation bills; and probably, before we get through, we shall find them resort-ing to other equally ingenious methods of pro-ducing "discord" and "confusion," for which the

by the judgment of his peers. How much better for him and his, had he lived and died unknown, than to be branded through all future time as the "Wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind?"

So now, in this crisis of the fate of liberty, if any of the renowned men of this nation should betray her cause, it were better that they had been unknown to fame. It need not be hoped that the brightness of their past glory will dazzle the eyes of posterity, or illumine the pages of impartial history. A few of its rays may still linger and to annihilate it, and to rid ourselves of all responsibility in connection with it; and this was part of our platform of 1848. We went for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, and, if we could not get the South to consent to it, then we were in favor of the removal of the seat of Justice upon which our Government is founded, and which have a lodgment in the broast of abolishing it in all places where it exists under the authority of the Federal Government, which they have controlled for half a century. None know better than Southern men that slavery is wrong; none know better than they that it is at war with those principles of abolishing it in all places where it exists under the authority of the Federal Government, which they have controlled for half a century. None know better than Southern men that slavery is wrong; none know better than they that it is at war with those principles of justice upon which our Government is founded. The purpose of extending that institution per 32, but it was a grasp for power—power in the Federal Government, which they have controlled for half a century. None know better than Southern men that slavery is wrong; none know better than they that it is at war with those principles of justice upon which our Government is founded. The purpose of extending that institution per 32, but it was a grasp for power—power in the Federal Government, which they have controlled for half a century. None know better than Southern men that claim that, having deprived ourselves of the profits, "blessings," and advantages of slavery, the South ought not to ask us to continue it under our joint sanction. We ought to be permitted to relieve ourselves of the responsibility and sin at once and

Mr. Chairman, I do not feel disposed to abandon any one of these positions. Neither can I commit myself to the admission of any more slave States. I do not know whether these can be considered the principles of the "Progressive De-mocracy," of which we heard so much this morning from the gentlemen from Mississippi, [Mr. Thompson] I have never had the honor of belonging to that party; it has been my good fortune to belong to the Whig party, and that is to belong to that party; it has been my good fortune to belong to the Whig party, and that is an honor which I shall continue to enjoy. But I do not understand that there are any differences upon this subject between the body of the people of the free North. The Northern people are honest; they are not arrogant, as the gentleman has said; they are peaceable, quiet, rather timid than other-

own strength, and have too oren quarted and ower strength, and have too often qualted man cowered before the threatenings of the puny South; they are unsuspecting, and it happens almost invariably that they are betrayed, too often by their own friends, and I fear they will

Mr. Chairman, I entertain the highest sentiments of respect for General Taylor; his honesty and integrity commends itself to me as it does to the People. But, Whig and Free-Soiler as I am, the People. But, Whig and Free-Soiler as I am, I cannot agree with the recommendation of the President, upon these subjects. I cannot subscribe to the policy of the order of the Secretary of War, which consigned the New Mexicans to the tender mercies of Texas. It may be said that orders still more favorable to Texas had been given by the previous Administration, and that Mr. Polk had recognised, in terms, the claims of Texas, in his official letter to the Governor of that State; and that there was danger of civil war with Texas. All this may be true, and yet I cannot see why this Administration should not have maintained the "statu quo," as between Texas and New Mexthe "statu quo," as between Texas and New Mexico, until, by judicial or legislative decision, the question of boundary had been disposed of. Texas might at least have been restrained from extending her jurisdiction at a delicate period of the dis-pute, when these questions were so soon to be submitted, as they now are, to the consideration

submitted, as they now are, to the consideration of Congress.

The protection of the military authorities, under which the civil protections had every possible reason to expect would not be denied them. This state of things, however, only increases the necessity for speedy action by Congress, and the immediate application of a remedy. But the action of Congress about these days seems to partake something of the nature of a suit in chantake something of the nature of a suit in chan-

cery—tardy.

1 have another strong objection to the plan of the Administration. General Taylor proposes to compromise the differences between the North and South with reference to these Territories, and South with reference to these Territories, by admitting California, and leaving New Mexico and Utah to adopt State Constitutions when they get ready. I cannot consent to this, because we are determined to secure those Territories to freedom, beyond the possibility of a doubt; and because I cannot vote for the admission of those Territories as slave States, should they hereafter apply, as I should consider myself bound to do should we adopt the President's plan. Yet we expect to abide by this plan, rather from necessity than choice.

expect to abide by this plan, rather from necessity than choice.

Texas was secured to slavery by the South and her Northern allies of the "progressive Democracy" (!) beyond even the possibility of a doubt; and they made arrangements, moreover, to cut her up into five slave States, and they left her all of the public domain in her borders to pay her debts with; public domain in her borders to pay her debts with; a privilege no other State enjoys. The main feature in this glorious example of the clean manner in which "progressive Democracy" and the South protect and guard the slave interest, I propose to follow. It is a bright and illustrious example, and I intend to take pattern of it. I propose to secure as strongly, as firmly, as irrevocably, the three remaining States which are to coably, the three remaining States which are to ocably, the three remaining States which are to come out of the Territories we have acquired of Mexico, to freedom. They have done so by legislative enactment. I propose to carry out Northern policy by the same process—by the enactment of a repealable law—as binding in one case as the other, and no more so. The South have no objection to provisos when they are to benefit themselves, but they have other names for their measures, which we never hear subjected to the measures, which we never hear subjected to the keen shaft of ridicule; and they are not at all modest in the extent of the application of their provisos. A war at an expense of a hundred millions is a trifle, and their provisos cover five good States at one sweep. Now, I am proposing only to follow their excellent example. I am in favor of securing those Territories to freedom by a Proviso. I am in favor of Territorial Governments for Utah and New Mexico with a "Proviso." I care not whether you call it the Dane, the "Wilmot," the Webster, or Winthrop, the Jeffersonian Ordinance of 1787, or John Smith's

Proviso—I am in favor of this policy, "at all hazards and to the last extremity." If we would secure those Territories as irrevocably as that famous proviso which "sticks out" in the Texan resolutions of Annexation secured the soil of that resolutions of Annexation secured the soil of that State to slavery, we must be prepared to vote it in without stopping to consider its political effect. There was no outcry then about provisos. Slavery seems to be so much superior in its moral aspect to freedom, that a slavery proviso is swallowed at once, while we are kept here six months before we can persuade men to answer it to their consciences to touch a proviso for freedom, and then it is done with the most undisguised reluctance, and only for fear of the people whose frowns are ant sometimes to trouble the dreams. frowns are apt sometimes to trouble the dreams of ambitious politicians. For aught I know, we may be here six months longer, before that power which controls Congress, and is omnipotent in the Government, and has been for the last fifty years, will allow us to record our votes upo hese measures.

Mr. Chairman, I suppose we shall have a thing here shortly, called the "Compromise," designed by its manufacturers as a sort of pitch-plaster to apply to the wounds, ulcers, and sores of the body politic, of which there are said to be five. I think this is a wrong count; my memory recalls several not set down in this bill of particulars. There is one small sore, if I recollect right, which certain people living in a small district called Pennsylvania would like to have these skilful political doctors prescribe for. The old doctors of the "progressive Democracy" (!) have attempt-ed it once or twice, but have as often been prosecued it once or twice, but have as often been prosecu-ted for mal-practice. One cause of their failure probably is their too close attention to their colored patients, which leaves them no time for the white ones. I have a remote suspicion that this is the difficulty with those who are attempt-ing to apply this "Compromise" pitch-plaster— they attend too closely to the black population. California is the first item in this impractica

California is the first item in this impracticable hodge-podge of a "Compromise." The trouble about her is, that the people of that State don't want negroes; they object in tote-to-to-to-back population. They are to honorable to wish to make slave, of them to minister to a sordid lust or gold-for undeserved, because unpurchased, wealth; and they prefer leaving them with their Southern friends to receiving them upon any other terms, which might involve the ultimate risk of slavery. Had she presented herself as a slave State, does anybody upon this floor believe that there would have been the least difficulty about her admission? She would have been received by the "progressive Democracy" with acceived by the "progressive Democracy" with ac-clamations, as the "lone star" was upon a certain

the yeas and nays on frivolous motions, and with-bolding the appropriation bills; and probably, before we get through, we shall find them reacrifing to other equally ingenious methods of producing "discord" and "confusion," for which the people will hold them to account hereafter. Many Southern gentlement even left the Hall some years since in a body, but they were very glad to return. South Carolina nullified—though that was on another question (the tariff)—and nothing on an other question (the tariff)—and nothing that was on another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will hold them to account hereafted with the people will be feat to take on another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take on another question (the tariff)—and nothing to make an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take on another question (the tariff)—and nothing to make an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be feat to take an another question (the tariff)—and nothing the people will be peop

merely the question of power which now seems rocking the Union to its centre. It was in this rocking the Union to its centre. It was in this view that the language of my colleague [Mr. Stevens] was so strongly excepted to by Southern gentlemen. They are fearful that the conviction will grow up in the popular mind, that slavery as a political power should be destroyed, as it is at war with the whole spirit of free institutions, and is checking their advancement at every step. every step.

Mr. Stevens said

Mr. Stevens said:

"I am opposed to the diffusion of slavery, because confining it within its present limits will bring the States themselves to its gradual sbolition. Let this disease spread, and although it will render the whole body leprons and loathsome, yet it will long survive. Confine it, and like the cancer that is tending to the heart, it must be eradicated, or it will eat out the vitals. The sooner the patient is convinced of this, the sooner he will procure the healing operation."

"Yes, sir; this admitted result is, to my mind, one of the most agreeable consequences of the legitimate restriction of slavery. Confine this maindy within its present limits, surround it by a cordin of freemen that it cannot spread, and in less than twenty-five years, every slaveholding State in this Union will have on its statute-books a law for the gradual legion will have on its statute-books a law for the gradual legion in the surrounding of the structure of the gradual legion in the surrounding of the structure of the gradual legion in the surrounding of the structure of the gradual legion in the surrounding for the gradual legion in the surrounding of the structure of government—of universal freedom."

My colleague has been subjected to not a little

My colleague has been subjected to not a little severe criticism from Southern gentlemen for the expression of these sentiments. I can tell gentle-men from the South, that this language is by no means peculiar to my colleague. They are, as far as I know, the sentiments of the entire North. That speech has been again and again republished both in English and German, and circulated by thousands. This sentiment is of no new growth. I doubt not that my colleague himself learned it at his mother's knee, and these leasons are seldom forgotten.

It is this fear that slavery, being surrounded by

a cordon of free States, will ultimately adopted remedies for the evils which provoke the demonstrations that we daily witness in this Hall. Prov. idence has pointed out to us this remedy for the evils of the common weal under which we are suffering. Surround this arrogant and aristo-cratic slave power, which is now impeding all legislation, obstructing the wheels of Government, in hopes of carrying out its dark designs—surround it with a cordon of freemen, and we shall then have a prospect of peace, of a return to law and order, to good and regular government. We do not ask to interfere with slavery in the States where it exists under their own municipal

with them. We do not ask to interfere with it, and the Constitution gives us no right to do so. But we have a right to ask that it shall not usurp all authority and control of the Federal Govern-ment, and subject the North to a state of political vassalage! We have a right to ask that it shall not be made the basis of a power which subjects the North to a species of political slavery, which is but the counterpart of that domestic slavery in which they hold the tawny race of Africa, and a mixed breed of American and African blood, of all shades and hues, from ebony black to almost lily white.

Were the slaves of the Barbary States of Africa compared to-day with those who are held in human bondage in this country, we should find but little difference in complexion. Their slaves are ostensibly white, as ours are black, but they gradually change their hue to a darker shade, as ours do to a lighter, more delicate complexion, and European features. Why, there are slaves in Washington, which we meet at almost every corner of the street, with straight hair, European features, and skin almost as white as our own; and this is the class which give so much trouble as runaways. There is an instinct in them which generates a struggle for freedom; and that struggle is sometimes a life-long struggle. As this class in creases, as it is increasing every year, new laws are found to be necessary for their recapture The old law of 1793, stringent as it is, is found ineffectual, as we are now told by our Southern

that California shall come into the Union or not. I know that she ought to come in, and I go for her unconditional admission, without making her a pack-horse, upon which to lug in other matters pertaining to the security of property in their black people, and the extension of slavery.

When slave States are to be admitted, we can do it by wholesale, and Texas is shoved in with an arrangement for five slave States, without scarcely so much as saying to the North, "by your leave, sir." But when a free State knocks for admission, she is kept here months, compelled to listen to frothy speeches upon that everlasting theme, "dissolution of the Union;" and the country is kept in a state of revolutionary excitement. The appropriation bills are kept back, and the Government menaced with a refusal of the supplies, not by a majority, but by a miserable factious minority. But those terrific speeches factious minority. But those terrific speeches about dissolution of the Union, &c, like an ofttold tale, are really becoming wearisome; and we are ready to exclaim with Job, our "afflictions are

greater than we can bear?

The next feature in this Compromise is, Gov. ernments for the Territories, without a restriction of slavery, and annulling the Mexican law, which abolishes slavery, by extending the Consti-tution over them—thus yielding the whole of the

territory to slavery.

The next is, buying of Texas a large portion of territory which she claims, and paying her ten or twelve millions, probably, in addition to what these territories have already cost, which is about \$125,000,000.

why is the North called upon for this vast sum. The public lands are worth nothing, according to the showing of New Mexico herself, in the representation she has officially made to this Government, pending her application for admission, and I do not relish this proposition for a donation to Texas. We have yielded her a boon enjoyed by no other State in the Union, the possession of all the public lands within her borders. Where is upon personally to pay tribute to this slaverypropaganda, and perhaps to furnish white slaves,
if they cannot get black ones—and ne can do it.

They next call upon us to stifle our opinions
with regard to slavery. They tell us that we of
the North have no business to have opinions upon this subject—it is aggressive; and they modestly ask us to organize curselves into one vast police corps, and emulate each other in a display of our dexterity in catching their runaway negroes The fugitive slave bill, which forms a part of this famous—I was about to say infamous—compro mise, as it is called, details about ten thousand Northern postmasters to perform this degrading office of catching runsway negroes—perhape they will next propose that the North shall fur-nish, under the authority of the Federal Govern-ment, a supply of those interesting individuals who perform the office of Jack Ketch, to be in readiness whenever the South shall need them. Such a proposition would be a fitting amendment to this fugitive slave bill.

to this fugitive slave bill.

Sir, the postmasters of our Northern cities, lowns and "lines, tre gentlemes. They would not suffer such degradation as this. You talk of insults and aggressions upon the South. No such insults this was everoffered to any single Southern man; and yet you coolly put it upon ten thousand Northern postmasters, gentleman of standing and respectability in the communities where they live, (not by virtue of their offices, for none other than respectable men are appointed to these places of trust and responsibility.) If this bill shall come before this House, I have an amendment to offer, to come in after the word "postmasters," so come before this House, I have an amendment to offer, to come in after the word "postmasters," so as to include in this force to be employed in this beautiful business of catching runaway negroes. Northern candidates for the Presidency. They might be located, one in Pennsylvania, one in the Peninsular State in the Lake regions, one in the Bay State, and another in New York. To these, and their somewhat diminished corps of Lickspittle Fusileers, the South are welcome if they can do any service in barricading the way to Cauada; but, for Heaven's sake, do not subject our respectable postmasters to so degrading an occupa-

only one in this "omnibus" bill, is spoken of at the South as good cause for disunion. There is nothing about the tariff in this list of healing measures; no endeavor is made to heal up that small sore in Pennsylvania and in other portions of the Union. Our Southern friends seem to be laboring under the hallucination that the small strip of country set down in some maps as lying north of Mason and Dixon's line has been suddenly blotted out. Let us hope that they will yet condescend to notice us. Mr. Clay once thought there was such a country; but, having decided to sacrifice it upon the altar of his ambition, he has doubtless concluded that it may be safely reckoned among the things that were. Perhaps the lengthened shadows of the White House rest upon it, and obscure it from his vision. Mr. Clay, however, is but a man; he stands up for his section, bending every energy to the endeavor to secure perpetuation of power in the Federal Government for the slaveholding States—power which they have enjoyed for half a century, and which they now endeavor to enlarge by an addition of Southern Senators. I do not know that we ought to find fault with him for pursuing this purpose for standing up for his section in this sectional contest, like a true man; but it does seem a little unfair that he should use Northern popularity, and Northern leaders, to defeat Northern policy,

and to prostrate Northern interests. To recapitulate a little, let us see how this stands, and what degree of fairness there is in Southern demands with reference to these Terri-

and purchase, an extent of territory lying between

Louisiana and the Pacific Ocean, equal to about twenty-seven degrees of longitude. It was ac-quired in obedience to Southern policy, and in opposition to our Northern feeling, at a vast expense of blood and treasure. It has cost the country many thousands of lives, and about \$125,000,000. Of this territory, the South has obtained irrevocably the best half in Texas, which obtained irrevocably the best half in Texas, which she has arranged, under Legislative guaranties, to subdivide into five slave States. The other half, a large proportion of which is a mountainous, uninhabitable, and valueless country, the North insist upon having and dividing into three free States. Here is the proposition so mathematically plain and simple, that everybody can understand it. The North ask three out of eight of the States so acquired, and one of those States is here with her Constitution, asking for admission. Mr. Clay's Senate Compromise Committee propose, instead of admitting her, to get around giving the North these three free States, by sticking together into one bill, along with California. Territorial Governments for New Mexico and Utah, without any restriction of slavery; and he refuses without any restriction of slavery; and he refuses to allow the Mexican law to remain in force, which does restrict slavery. The operation of Territorial Governments, as we all know, is this: Under States is extended over them, and Territorial Judges are consisted, those judges are to be confirmed by the Senate, in which slavery has a majority. Of course, such judges will be appointed as have been heretofore, who will decide that slavery is lawful in the Territories under the Constitution, whenever a slave is brought before them upon a suit for his freedom, and thus slavery is established by judicial decision. Thus we are to be stripped, under this compromise, of all but Cal-ifornia; and we are only to be allowed this as an act of special grace, and by giving the fugitive slave bill as an equivalent, besides yielding these Towritories

Territories.

But there are certain modest Southern gentlemen who are not satisfied with this. They ask for the Missouri Compromise line, which would give them four-fifths of this expensive domain.

I confess—when I look around this Hall and behold the unnatural and degrading spectacle of Nurthern men crouching at the feet of this Slave Power, and vieing with each other in their slavish degration when the South is in the very act of Power, and vieing with each other in their slavish devotion, when the South is in the very act of grasping at more power—at an addition of fourteen Senators, who will of course use their endeavors to keep the North in subjection, and destroy their interests—I confess, when I see this, I fear that even the Missouri Compromise may not be beyond their reach, though I hope and trust that the North will stand firm—firm as the massive pillars with which we are surrounded. I admire the consistency firmpess and trust devotion of the consistency, firmness, and true devotion, of Southern gentlemen to their sectional interests while I laugh at their threats and their bravado (if I may use these expressions.) I warn them, however, that there is a point beyond which it is

not safe to go. Extract from the Declaration of Independence

We hold these truths to be self-evident: That all men re created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator ith certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, berty, and the pursuit of happiness. to whom such service or labor may be due. Extract from the Syllabus of the Case of Prigg vs

the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, reported in 16th Peters's Reports.

Extract from Mr. Clay's Resolutions. 7. Resolved, That more effectual provision ought to be made by law, according to the requirement of the Constitu-tion, for the restitution and delivery of persons bound to service or labor in any Strte, who may escape into any other State or Territory of this Union.

Extracts from Mr. Clay's Speech in the Senate of the United States, of 5th February, 1850. United States, of 5th February, 1850.

Well, Mr. President, upon this subject I go with him who goes farthest in the interpretation of that clause in the Constitution which relates to this subject. In my humble opinion, that is a requirement by the Constitution of the United States which is not limited in its operation to the Congress of the United States, but which extends to every State in the Union. And I go one step further. It extends to every main in the Union, and devolves upon him the obligation to assist in the recovery of a fugitive slave from labor who takes refuge in or escapes into one of the free States. And I maintain all this by a fair interpretation of the Constitution.

It will be observed, Mr. President, that this clause in the Constitution is not amongst he enumerated powers granted

the United States, March 7, 1850.

I look upon it, therefore, as a fixed fact to use an expression current at this day, that both California and New Mexico are destined to be free, so far as they are settled at all, which i believe, especially in regard to New Mexico, will be very little for a great length of time; free by the arrange ment of things by the Power above us. I have therefore to say, in this respect also, that this sountry is fixed for freedom, to as many persons as shall ever live in it, by as irrepealable and more irrepealable a law, than the law that attaches to the right of holding alayes in Taxas; and I will say further, that if a resolution, or a law, were now before us to provide a Territorial Government for Raw Maxico, I would not vote to put any prohibition is in its whatever. The use of such a prohibition would be file, as it respects any sfact it would have upon the Territory; and I would not

there is found to exist a state of crimination and recriminations between the Riverth and South. There are list of grievtions between the Riverth and South. There are list of grievtions produced by the state of the portion of the, real or supposed, alienate the minds of me portion of the private of the private of the produced of the state of the produced of the state of th

Bill of Mr. Webster's friend at the head of the Judi ciary Committee, to which he proposes to give his support " to the fullest extent?

A BILL
To provide for the more effectual execution of the 3d To provide for the more effectual execution of the 3d clause of the 2d section of the 4th article of the Constitution of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Represental vis of the United States of America in Congress, astronber, That when a person held to service or labor in pany State or Territory of the United States, under the laws of such States or Territory and leaves into any other of the mid States.